

Chandler, Thomas Bradbury
THE
FRIENDLY ADDRESS
TO
All Reasonable Americans,
ON
The SUBJECT of
OUR
POLITICAL CONFUSIONS:

Carefully abridged from

THE ORIGINAL.

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Am I therefore become your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?

ST. PAUL.

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T H E
FRIENDLY ADDRESS

T O

All *reasonable* AMERICANS, &c.*

Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects !

THE Frame of the English government, for the admirable wisdom of its structure, has always been the wonder of the world ; and under its protection and mild influence, the subjects of Great-Britain are the happiest people on earth. But of all the subjects of Great-Britain, those who reside in the American Colonies have been, and were they sensible of their own advantages, might still be, by far the happi-

* As this publication is intended to be merely an ABRIDGMENT of the FRIENDLY ADDRESS, which was penned, and nearly printed, before the proceedings of the CONGRESS were published ; it would be foreign from this intention, to take more particular Notice of their conduct. However, the general observations, which are here presented to the reader, will enable him, if he wants any assistance, to form a proper judgment of their truly memorable proceedings.

ed : surrounded with the blessings of peace, health, and never-failing plenty---enjoying the benefits of an equitable and free constitution---secured by the protection and patronage of the greatest maritime power in the world---and contributing, in but a small proportion, to the support of the necessary public expences. Under these advantages, the colonies have hitherto flourished beyond example. They have become populous, both by natural increase, and the yearly influx of foreigners, the sure indications of a happy country ; and they have become rich, by practicing, at their ease, the peaceful arts of agriculture and commerce. And were they to pursue the same path which has brought them thus far, there is no doubt but they would go on to flourish and prosper in the same proportion, till, in process of time, they would excite either the admiration or envy of the whole human race.

But a far different prospect, at this time, presents itself to view. The darkness of a rising tempest is beginning to overspread our land. The thunder roars at a distance, and appears to be swiftly approaching. It is high time therefore to awaken the thoughtless to a sense of their danger, and to think of providing for our common safety.

There is, there can be, but one way to prevent the ruin that threatens us. Our own misconduct has brought it forward ; and our immediate reformation must stop its progress. He must be blind, that is not convinced of this ; and he must be infatuated, that will pursue the road, which evidently terminates in darkness and destruction.

Whether the British Parliament has been right or wrong in its late Proceedings, towards the Colonies ; our own behaviour has been such as every government must and will think intolerable. If the supreme power of any kingdom or state, through want of due information or attention, should adopt measures that are wrong or oppressive, the subjects may complain and remonstrate against them in a respectful manner ; but they are bound, by the laws of Heaven and Earth, not to behave undutifully, much more not to behave insolently and rebelliously. The bands of society would be dissolved, the harmony of the world confounded, and the order of nature subverted, if reverence, respect, and obedience, might be refused to those whom the constitution has vested with the highest authority. The ill consequences of open disrespect to government are so great, that no misconduct of the administration can justify or excuse it.

The voice of complaint, to call it no worse, is now heard through every corner of our land ; and we are daily exhorted to prepare

prepare for the defence of our liberties, and all that is sacred with united efforts.—But before we proceed, it concerns us to be well informed, both as to our real danger, and the steps proper to be taken.

Were the Americans actually in a state of oppression, it would shew their wisdom and prudence, to submit with patience to their present condition, rather than to provoke the power that oppresses them, without some fair prospect of obtaining relief. One degree of distress, in consequence of the weight of illegal power, is a grievance; ten degrees of distress are proportionably a greater evil; but bad as it is, he must be an idiot or a madman, who would not prefer them to twenty.

But we are so far from being in a state of oppression, that the proper dispute subsisting between Great-Britain and any of her colonies, excepting that of the *Massachusetts Bay*, is only, *de Lana Coprina*, about an act imposing a duty of *three pence a pound* upon tea. This is the only ground we have for complaining of the administration; and yet this has occasioned, throughout our colonies, such an indecent and violent opposition to government as is truly astonishing. Can such behaviour, on so slight a provocation, proceed from *dutiful and loyal subjects*? No; it is impossible. Whatever we may think, or say, of ourselves; if we had any true principles of *loyalty*, or any tolerable sense of the *duty* that is due to the supreme legislative power, under which the providence of God, and our own consent, have placed us, no trifling considerations could prevail with us to behave towards it in so petulant and disrespectful a manner. But there is too much reason to believe, that our minds are unprincipled, and our hearts disposed for rebellion. Ever since the reduction of *Canada*, we have been bloated with a vain opinion of our own power and importance. Our ease has produced pride and wantonness. We have been intoxicated with such draughts of liberty, as our constitutions would not bear; and under this intoxication, we have conceived that all the privileges indulged us were the effects of fear. From thinking, we have proceeded to speaking, disrespectfully of our mother country; and our language now is—“It is contrary to reason and nature, that the petty island of *Britain* should govern, and give laws to, the extensive and mighty regions of *America*.”

Yet whatever time may produce, at present the petty island of *Britain* is able to govern ten *Americas*, if she will exert her power. But she wishes by lenity and forbearance and indulgence to secure our affections, and to render us sensible, that

that our greatest political happiness must arise from her smiles and fostering protection. We should be fully convinced of this, were it not for our gross ignorance, and want of consideration; and willing to confess it, were it not for our pride. But if we determine to deny her authority, or to question her *right* to command us, she will prove to the world, and bring us to confess, that though she is ancient, she is not superannuated or exhausted; and that she still possesses the spirit and vigour that have animated her best years.

Were she only to do nothing, but barely to leave the colonies to themselves with their jarring principles, and interests, and projects; we should soon see province waging war against province, and our country would be involved in such misery and distress, as are beyond all our present conceptions. Should it be known abroad that *Great Britain* had withdrawn her protection, and would no longer interest herself in our preservation and safety; within the compass of one year our sea-ports would be ravaged, and our vessels plundered or seized as soon as they left our harbours. We should therefore soon feel the necessity of purchasing the protection of some maritime power, and on terms not of our proposing, but of theirs; of a maritime power, which could never be able to secure us against any hostile attempts of *Great Britain*, should she see fit to make any; while she maintains that empire of the sea which she now holds, and of which all the maritime powers of the world are unable to dispossess her.

But, replies the ignorant and deluded American: "Notwithstanding all that can be said of the naval strength of *Great Britain*, it is asserted by our patriotic leaders, and we have reason to think, that these colonies, of themselves, are able to withstand all her force." The judgment of Heaven visibly appears in this dreadful insatiation. It was but a few years ago, that we believed, and found by experience, that the colonies were unable to withstand the militia of *Canada*, supported by a few regiments of regular troops from *France*. That this was the general opinion, most of us may remember; and it is evident from the messages that passed between Governor SHIRLEY and the House of Representatives of *Boston*, from the address of the Assembly of *Virginia* to the King, at the beginning of the late war, and from many other authentic documents of that period. The colonies then humbly and ardently implored that *Great Britain* would speedily step in to their rescue, and preserve them from a destruction that threatened to overwhelm them. Their prayers were soon heard; and what

what was the consequence we all know. The strong bulwarks and fortresses of *Canada* were stormed, and the country conquered by the discipline and invincible bravery of but a small part of the British troops.

There is no room to doubt but such an army as was employed in the reduction of *Canada*, would be more than sufficient for the conquest of all the disaffected American colonies, should such a resolution become necessary, in order to reduce them to obedience. For they are open and accessible on every quarter, and have not a single fortress to cover them, nor one regiment of regular troops to defend them; and they are without military stores, without magazines, and without the skill that is necessary for supporting an army. Under such circumstances what would the boasted numbers of our inhabitants avail us against an attack from *Great-Britain*? If an army was sent in upon us, which a body of forty thousand of our militia was unable to withstand (for it is impossible that a greater number of undisciplined men could act to advantage) it would be able to carry desolation through the whole country; and all the men in the colonies, were they firmly united, would not be able to oppose it. But yet, if the army here supposed, should be found unequal to the design of reducing the colonies, *Great Britain* could send of her own troops a second, of equal strength to the assistance of the first; to these she could add a third of *Hessians*, a fourth of *Hanoverians*, and so on till the work were completed. She could easily take possession of all our sea-coasts where our wealth is principally seated, and force us to fly into the back parts of the country for immediate safety. There an army of *Canadian*s might be ordered to meet us, and unnumbered tribes of *savages* might be let loose upon us at the same time, while our lands would lie uncultivated, our stores exhausted, our families unsheltered, and those that happened to escape the sword, glittering and flaming both in the front and rear of our settlements, would soon perish by sickness or famine.

All that is here mentioned *Great Britain* is able to do; and all this I believe she *would* do, should she be obliged to enter into a war with the colonies,—provided the Americans had resolution and *firmness* enough (for so some would call it) to hold out to such extremity. But I am too well acquainted with their character to expect that they would prove thus *obstinate* in the day of trial. When they come to find that on their side there can be no prospect of victory, but that every day must deepen their distress and render their condition worse and worse; thei

their natural understandings will return to them, and irresistibly plead the necessity of a submission as soon as possible. In that case happy would it be for them, if they could be considered only as conquered enemies; but alas! they must be viewed in the light of *vanquished rebels*, and treated accordingly. Their leaders must be given up into the executioner's hands; confiscations of their estates forfeited by rebellion, must follow, and all must be left at the mercy of their vanquishers. When one people is conquered by another in war, private property is restored to its former possessors; but when rebellions are crushed, the most to be expected is, that the lives of those that belong to the lower classes will be spared.

To this wretched and accursed state of rebellion, the principles that have been propagated, and several steps that have been taken in the American Colonies, directly tend. Nay, a rebellion is *already evidently commenced in New-England*, in the county of *Suffolk*, without room for retreating. The inhabitants of that large and populous county have openly bid defiance to the united authority of the King, Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; they have most contemptuously rejected the regulations of their courts of justice &c. established by Parliament; and not only so, but they have set up in *direct opposition* to their authority, a government of their own. In the spirit of outrageous licentiousness, they have compelled by brutal violence, those respectable gentlemen that held Commissions under the Crown, to resign them in forms of their own inditing, and to relinquish their stations; and they have appointed others of the same factious and turbulent disposition with themselves to fill their places, till their long-projected *republic* * shall be settled, which is the glorious object. They

* I am persuaded that there are not many men in the other Colonies of any denomination, who have not a general prevailing principle of affection, esteem and veneration for our civil Constitution, however it may be darkened by the gross exhalations occasioned by the heat of the present disputes. But in *New-England* I conceive, the real sentiments of the people are of a peculiar complexion. Many of the first settlers imported with them an aversion to the regal part of our Constitution, and were thorough-paced *Republicans*. To every species of monarchy they were as inveterate enemies as any of their brethren, whom they left behind them in *England*; some of whom could not bear to read the word *King* in their *Bibles*, but wherever it occurred they substituted *Civil Magistrate* in its place. It is well known that even good old father *BAXTER* was a remarkable instance of this nature. In the time of *CROMWELL*'s usurpation, he published his book of *Saints everlasting Rest*, in which he thought fit to use the phrase of *The PARLIAMENT OF HEAVEN*, instead of saying *The KINGDOM OF HEAVEN* †. Now those original settlers

† *GREY*'s answer to *NEAL*.

have already, if we may believe *credible information*, marked out the inland town of *Worcester* for the *seat of this Republic*; they are now collecting an artillery for its defence; and some of them have nominated the man who is to be their PROTECTOR.

Whether this be so or not, it appears from *authentic intelligence*, dated *Boston* September 27th, that they have done as bad*. For the SELECT MEN and the COMMITTEE of CORRESPONDENCE have proclaimed the King's troops to be public ENEMIES, and declared to Mr. SCOT that he DESERVED immediate DEATH, for selling warlike stores to them; and the people actually did assemble to put THIS sentence in execution, but Mr. SCOT was so fortunate as to make his escape. And besides this the King's General and Governor farther complains of their continual acts of hostility. "Orders, says he, are given to prevent all supplies for *English* troops: Straw purchased for their use is daily burnt, vessels with bricks sunk, carts with wood overturned, and thus even the King's property is destroyed in every manner in which it can be effected." And he justly observes that all this is "not the effect of rash tumult, but of evident system."

Now these rebellious Republicans, these hairbrained fanatics, as mad and distracted as the ANABAPTISTS of MUNSTER, are the people whom the American Colonies wish to support! It

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of *New-England* stiffly maintained, and zealously endeavored to propagate their own antimonarchical principles; and those principles have been handed down by an uninterrupted succession, from father to son, and from generation to generation, to the present day.

Although many of their descendants have acquired liberal sentiments, and have renounced the bigotry and prejudices of their well-meaning fore-fathers, whether relating to matters of religion or government; yet this is by no means the case with regard to the body of the people. They still retain an hereditary aversion to the frame of the English Constitution, and to the controul of monarchy; and this aversion has been from time to time, occasionally animated and inflamed by a set of *Pulpit-Incendiaries*, for which that part of the country has been ever famous. By these and other instruments they have been prepared whenever the word is given, to declare and exert themselves at all hazards for an independent government of their own modelling.

The confusions of the present time have been thought to afford a favorable opportunity, for putting their design in execution. The Colonies are discontented, and it has been imagined that they might all be persuaded to encourage the attempt. On this presumption, the decree has gone forth to *erect the Republic*; the *Rubicon* has been passed, and there can be no thoughts of retreating. They have drawn the sword, with an aim to plunge it into the bowels of our ancient and venerable Constitution; and henceforward the scabbard must become useless. The cry now is: *We have no part in DAVID, neither have we inheritance in the son of JESSE: Every man to his tent, O ISRAEL.*

* See Mr. GAINE's Mercury of October 10.

seems to be a mark of judicial insatiation inflicted on us by the righteous judgment of Almighty God, that we of the other Colonies can *think* of espousing *such* a cause, and of *risking* every thing that is dear, *against such inexpressible odds*--in support of a scheme which all of us, but a few Presbyterians and Independents, in our hours of reflexion, if we have any, must despise and abhor.

The hopes of all moderate and considerate persons among us, whose numbers I believe are not small, were long fixed upon the general *American Congress*. They imagined it to be the business and design of this grand COMMITTEE OF COMMITTEES, to find out some way consistent with our claims for obtaining the restoration of our common tranquillity, and a happy reconciliation of Great-Britain to her Colonies. The known character of some Gentlemen appointed as Delegates, and the supposed character of most of the others, led us to expect from them all that we wanted; and to believe that the united wisdom of the Americans would shine in full splendor at the *Congress*, and that the prudence and policy of the Counsels there taken would be such, as would have done honour to an Assembly of the greatest sages of antiquity. But---the poor Americans are doomed to disappointment. The first discovery of the sentiments of the *Congress* was shocking. Every thing was kept secret for some weeks, and we flattered ourselves with hoping for the best. But when the news arrived at *Philadelphia*, that the people of *Suffolk* had OPENLY REVOLTED FROM THEIR ALLEGIANCE to the *King* and his *government*; in a sudden transport of joy, the veil of the *Congress* was drawn back, and a mystery revealed that filled the minds of many with surprize and astonishment. The mystery was, that the Gentlemen of the *Congress*, in whom we confided as the faithful guardians of the *safety*, as well as *rights* of America, were *disposed* to enter into a league offensive and defensive, with its *worst enemies*, the New-England and other Presbyterian Republicans. This fact is notorious to the world; it can neither be denied nor palliated; for they hastily and eagerly published, (and it was the first thing that they *did* publish) their cordial approbation of the *Suffolk Resolves* for erecting an *Independent Government* in *New-England*; and recommended to the Americans the support of those measures *with united efforts*. From that time every moderate man among us has despaired of seeing any good produced by the *Congress*; and from that time every thing that was bad has been growing worse.

Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects! let me entreat you
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to rouse up at last from your slumber, and to open your eyes to the danger that surrounds you—the danger of your being hurried into a state of rebellion before you are aware of it, and of suffering all that resentment which a mighty nation can discharge upon a defenceless people. Whether *Great-Britain* did right or not, in imposing the duty on tea, and whether we pay it or not, are matters of trifling consequence: But whether we shall bring down upon our own heads the full weight of her vengeance, and undergo all the horrors of a civil war, or not, are matters of dreadful importance to us. If you persist in the steps which many of you have taken; and especially if you go on to encourage the New-England fanatics to attack the King's troops, whenever they can meet them; the time cannot be distant, in which both you and they will be legally proclaimed *Rebels and Traitors*—they as principals, and you as their abettors. You may still profess yourselves to be his *Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects*, as you did in your late *Resolves*, and as the leaders in the grand rebellion of 1641 did, in their messages to the King immediately after the battle of *Edge-Hill*, where they had fought against him in person; but this will not screen you from vengeance. No: *HAVOC* will be the cry; and *the dogs of war* will be let loose to tear out your vitals. Then, if not before then, the *Dæmon* of discord will rise to distract you. Brother must fight against brother, and friend against the friend of his bosom. In short, the country that is now "fair as *Eden*," will become a field of blood, overspread with desolation and slaughter. I tremble, and my blood retires to my heart at the prospect of such amazing anguish and misery. The sun and the moon begin already to be darkened and the stars to withdraw their shining. O all-pitying Heaven! Preserve me! Preserve my friends! Preserve my country!

If we are now upon the brink of a horrid civil war, and there be no hopes of relief from the wisdom, prudence and good temper of the *Congress*, there can be but one way of safety left; which is, that we all endeavour to see with our own eyes, and make use of our own understandings, and resume the liberty of thinking, and speaking, and acting for ourselves. Let us then like men of sense, sit down calmly and count the cost, in the first place, before we undertake to finish the work proposed to us. Let us consider, before we proceed farther and get more deeply embarrassed, whether we are able to go through with our enterprize against *Great-Britain*, or not: And, I am persuaded, it will soon appear to be impossible.

We are not able, without the utmost hazard, to go forward with

any warlike design, the only way is to retreat from it as soon as we can, and secure to ourselves such advantages as may be still in our power. This would shew our wisdom and discretion, were our cause allowed to be ever so just, and had we no peculiar connexion with the power we were disposed to contend with. For it is an eternal maxim, which holds in all cases, that a less evil is to be chosen, when it frees us from a greater. But in our case, where the justice of our cause is at best but *doubtful*; and when the power to be opposed is that, which has cherished us in its bosom, and kindly protected us from our earliest infancy — which we have always heretofore acknowledged our obligations to obey—to which many of us have solemnly sworn allegiance—and which has seldom thwarted our inclinations at all, and never but in matters of comparatively trifling consequence:—In this case, I say, the necessity of such accomodating measures strikes us with still more irresistible evidence.

If those who have been most active among us, in raising sedition, tumults, and in filling the country with distraction, will not be persuaded, by the foregoing considerations, to recede, it is hoped that others will; and it would be no small point gained, in favor of the Colonies, if those who are friends to order and government, and enemies to the riots and disturbances of abusive mobs, would assume the courage openly to declare their sentiments. All those who are still loyal to their sovereign, should do the same. His Majesty's good subjects of the town of Rye*, to their lasting honour, have set the example. Not only their names, but their numbers, are very respectable; and, were the example to be followed, through all the towns and districts of our several Colonies, I doubt not but it would appear, to the confusion of some among us, that, in every province, there are more than seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee, and who will not bow it, to the *Baal* of independency. And I now congratulate all such on the pleasure of finding, from the information of Gentlemen of unquestionable veracity, that the *Resolves* from Georgia were far from expressing the *sense* of the inhabitants of that grateful and loyal Province; but that they were framed only by a company of hot-headed fellows, met together in a tavern †.

I will only observe farther on this subject, that all who have the courage now to declare themselves friends to Government, will undoubtedly think themselves bound in honour, interest and

* See Mr. RIVINGTON's *Gazetteer* of October 13.

† RIVINGTON's *Gazetteer*, at sup :

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conscience, to resort to the King's *Standard*, when it comes to be erected in our different Colonies, should that melancholly event happen ; and these, of themselves, will compose a body, which, in a good cause, will be formidable to its opposers. But many thousands of others, and indeed the greater part of those who shall not have rendered their cases desperate, when they see the danger thus nearly approaching, and the storm ready to burst, will be glad to fly for shelter too to the Royal standard, if human nature continues the same that it ever has been ; and they will be zealous to *signalize* themselves in the King's service, in order to render unquestionable that loyalty which was formerly suspicious. It is morally certain that, in the day of trial, a large majority of the Americans will heartily unite with the King's troops, in reducing *America* to order. Our violent republicans will then find themselves deserted by thousands and thousands in whom they now confide ; and inexpressibly dreadful must be their disappointment. " O ! that they were *wise*, " that they *understood* this, that they would *consider* their *LAT*
" TER END ! "

I shall say no more on the supposed case of our waging WAR AGAINST THE KING, and entering into a STATE OF REBEL-
LION ; the thoughts of which, all sober men, and all conscien-
tious men, and all who prefer the good of their country to the
gratification of their own obstinate humours, must reject with
horror.

But another scheme is proposed, at first view less shocking,
which also appears to be recommended by the *Congress*, and
which many at present are inclined to adopt ; I mean, a *ge-
neral non-importation agreement* throughout the Colonies. Against
a proposal of this nature I have two objections to offer : Namely,
that it will greatly distress a country which I love ; and that it
will not answer the purpose.

In order (N. B.) to get rid of a duty of *three pence a pound on
tea*, it is proposed to stop all importation from *Great-Britain*,
and even from the *West-India Islands*, till the act imposing it
shall be repealed. But a remedy of this kind is ten thousand
times worse than the disease. It is, for the wisdom of it, like
cutting off an arm, in order to get rid of a small sore in one of
the fingers.

On a late trial of non-importation from *Great-Britain* only,
as soon as the stores of English goods began to be exhausted,
every family among us experienced such inconveniences and
difficulties, as produced a general murmur and complaint. For
although the articles imported from *England* are not absolutely
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necessary to support *animal* life ; yet it was found that the *civilized* life we had been used to, and which is necessary to the happiness of all but savages, depended, in no small degree, upon our importations from *Great-Britain*. And had the non-importation continued much longer, it would have excited insurrections in most parts of the country.

But a non-importation from the *West-Indies* would still more tenderly affect us. For to say nothing of *Rum*, or of *Molasses* for the use of our distilleries, without which more than a hundred thousand American dram-drinkers would soon be clamorous ; the want of the single article *Sugar* would distress every family upon this Continent. For this, in the quantity that is necessary, we could find no sufficient substitute. The hardened juice of our *Maple*, where it could be had, would be but a sorry one ; and as to *Honey*, we all know its use ; and were our stock of it ever so large, it would prove but a bad sweetner of the bitter draught of a non-importation.

Here then it is proposed, that, to the non-importation which we have experienced and could hardly bear, another should be added, that would affect us still worse ; and that a double weight should be fastened upon those shoulders, which were ready to give way under a single one. But this is not the worst of the case. It is generally believed, and intimations from *England* have confirmed the opinion, that if the Colonies should resolve to import nothing from *Great-Britain* and the *West-Indies*, they will not be suffered to import from any other quarter—not, even the salt that is necessary to cure their winter's provisions, or to season their porridge : And besides this, that an absolute *non-exportation* will be ordered, and not a single vessel suffered to go out of our harbours. Such an order, we know, can effectually be executed, with the greatest ease. It is but commanding the several Custom-Houses to grant no clearances ; and then every vessel that offered to sail, would be a lawful seizure. A few of the King's frigates would be sufficient to do the business, for all the Colonies on the Continent. Two or three of them stationed at the *Capes of Virginia*, would command every vessel belonging to the Ports, and to the fine navigable rivers, of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. As many stationed at the *Capes of Delaware*, would secure *Pennsylvania* and *West-Jersey*—and so of the rest.

Now a total stagnation of all foreign commerce, would at once place us in a glorious and blessed state. In the first place, all that live by this commerce would be thrown out of employ. Our *sailors* would be turned ashore ; our ships would rot in our harbours ; and our estates, which consist of wharfs or ware-houses,

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houses, would become as worthless, as those of the same nature are at present in the town of *Boston*. Our *ship-builders*, and their attendants, their *smiths*, *carmen* &c. with all that are employed in the business of cordage and rigging, must be immediately discharged. The numerous body of *pilots* and *boatmen* must be turned adrift. Nor would it fare much better with our *shop-keepers* and *merchants*, whose families are supported by the profits arising from their respective occupations. The expensive business of all our *iron-works* must stop; and the many thousands which they provide for, must, unprincipled as those wretches commonly are, be let loose upon the country, to get their living as they can.

Now all these classes of people, and many others which I have not enumerated, must have a support, and but few of them will be able to support themselves; and if their poverty is not relieved to their satisfaction, they will soon learn to carve for themselves. There are but few parishes and counties among us, which have not complained of the burden of their own poor. But what will they say, when the burthen comes to be increased an hundred-fold, as it necessarily must, when a general non-importation and non-exportation take place; and all their wonted resources fail them at the same time. The want of the money, of which we have been lately drained, in order to pamper the *Boston* fanatics, will then be severely felt: Nor can we expect any return of assistance in our distress from that Province, as their sufferings will be much greater than ours.

In the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, there is a large number of populous sea-port towns, which have no other support than their fishery. The town of *Gloucester* has three hundred schooners employed in that service, with a proportionable number of hands. In the town of *Marblehead* there are supposed to be near four thousand men, and many of them with families, that know of no other means of subsistence than the cod-fishery. I might mention *Plymouth*, *Salem*, *Beverly* and a number of other towns, that are nearly in the same situation. Now, when all these fishermen are turned ashore, and their vessels become useless; they must, with their unprovided families, disperse themselves amongst the inhabitants, and while the country affords any thing to eat, they will not starve.

But to return to these Colonies. I have mentioned the distress that must immediately overwhelm many orders of people, on a general stagnation of commerce; but have said nothing of our Farmers, or those that live by the cultivation of their lands. These may think themselves a kind of *privileged* persons, and imagine

imagine that such a revolution of affairs will affect them but little ; yet a very short experience will open their eyes, and convince them of the contrary. It is their farms, as all other resources will fail, that must support all the above-mentioned thousands of distressed people. Who must furnish them with food ? None can do it, but, *THE FARMERS*. Who must supply them with cloathing ? *THE FARMERS*. Who must shelter many of them in their houses ? *THE FARMERS*. And can they expect pay for all this ? Alas ! those poor creatures will have nothing to make payment with. And if they are employed as labourers, they are all unacquainted with the business ; and their labour will turn to but little account. Indeed, were the markets abroad open, the farmer might somewhat increase the quantity of his beef, his wheat and other produce, by their means, so that his bargain would be less intolerable. But the foreign consumption, on which he is now growing rich, will entirely cease ; and there will be no demand for his beef, and his wheat and other produce. All that he raises must perish on his hands, except what he expends in his own family, and on the poor that will be pressing upon him.

When all people are thus distressed ; when every mind is uneasy and discontented ; it will be natural for them to fall to reproaching one another, with being the authors of this general calamity. This will be productive of eternal quarrels, and riots, and disturbances, and acts of violence, amongst ourselves ; and then our misery will be complete.

Yet after all, were it likely that these political agonies and convulsions would produce a repeal of the act in dispute, it would be *some* alleviation of our misfortunes to consider, that we should gain by them—what ? Why *Three pence a pound*, on all the tea we should have occasion to purchase. But my *second* objection against a general non-importation agreement is, that it will not answer the purpose.

After what has been said and done by the Colonies, a general non-importation agreement will be considered by *Great-Britain* as an act of hostility, intended to *compel* her to relinquish her claim ; and she will not submit to be conquered by *such* weapons, any more than by force of arms. It is not pretended that she is altogether invulnerable in this part. The blow would reach her, and be felt by her ; but the wound would not be mortal. The strength and vigour of her constitution would bear much more, than we are able to inflict. But—the shaft, ungraciously aimed at the vitals of our Mother, on the rebound may prove fatal to ourselves.

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A total stagnation of commerce would affect *Great Britain*, in much the same manner, that it would affect her colonies, or any other commercial people; that is, it would rob her of her subsistence. But a partial stagnation could not affect her in the same manner that a total stagnation would affect us: Now, the non-importation in question, while it would cause a total stagnation of our commerce, would produce no more than a partial stagnation of hers; and consequently would not place her in a situation so distressing, as it would place us. Her trade is not confined to her American Colonies. She has ships and factories in every quarter of the globe; and the treasures of the East and West are perpetually flowing in upon her. She receives no necessary or useful articles from these colonies, but what she formerly received, and may at any time be supplied with, from foreign nations. Her manufactures that are consumed in the Colonies, she can shortly find ways to dispose of at other markets.

There is one branch of this hopeful project, that will contribute immediately and directly to the advantage of *Great Britain*, almost in the same proportion that it will distress ourselves. The Reader scarcely needs to be told, that what is here meant, is the stopping all intercourse and communication between the Colonies and the *West-Indies*. As soon as this takes place, the markets of Great Britain will be supplied, not only with the quantity of goods from the *West-Indies* which they have formerly received, but with the addition of all that is now consumed in the American Colonies. The British merchants will likewise have the advantage of supplying the Islands with many articles, which at present are not scored in any of their invoices.

The *West-Indians* themselves indeed may be somewhat injured and disconcerted at first, by the execution of this part of the plan; but far less, than seems to be generally expected and intended by us. The Island of *Jamaica* can supply her Planters with all kinds of provisions, but butter and flour; and with all the lumber that may be required, for a hundred years to come, excepting staves and heading for their *Rum Punchoons*. These she has often received from *Hamburgh*, from whence she might receive them again, But there will be no occasion for sending so far. *Canada* and *Nova-Scotia* can supply her, and all the other islands with these articles, as well as with flour, in any quantity that may be ordered; to say nothing of *Georgia* and the two *Floridas*, which abound in common lumber, at the service of the *Windward*, *Leward*, and *Caribbean* Islands. So that after the first year, new channels may be opened, plans formed,

and correspondences settled, in such a manner, that the *West-Indies* may be nearly as well supplied without our assistance, as they now are with it; and with some articles, perhaps better.

But supposing the contrary; yet what should we gain by this curious bargain? Why, the ill-will and resentment of all the *West-Indians*. For some years past, they have cultivated a peculiar friendship with the *North-American Colonies*, and proposed to themselves much happiness from a closer alliance.

They have sent hither their children, in large numbers, for their education: and many of them have brought over their families, and liberally spent the incomes of their estates among us. But when they find that, we can so ingeniously contrive schemes to distress them without benefiting ourselves; as they are generally not wanting in spirit, they will be apt to resent such ill usage, by withdrawing their sons and their families from among us, and perhaps by breaking off all further connexion with us in the way of commerce.

From what has been said, it will naturally be concluded, that by a general non-importation agreement we shall carry on a very unequal warfare with *Great-Britain*; which will much sooner compel us to yield, than her to comply. The want of her *North-American* trade may hurt her, but it will not reduce her to extremity; and, if I may judge from my own feelings, nothing but the utmost extremity will induce her, where she believes she has right of her side, and where her honour is deeply at stake, to give up the point in dispute.

At the time of our former non-importation, the case was materially different. The *Stamp-act* was so contrary to all our ideas of *American* rights, and so much was offered against the policy of the act, both here and at home, that there was no difficulty in repealing it. Afterwards when we exclaimed against the duties imposed upon paper, glass, &c. and agreed not to import the several articles loaded with duties; our views were comparatively moderate, and we had a large body of friends in *England* to support us. And were the proposition now only not to import, or to consume the tea that is charged with the duty; the case would be the same that it was then—we should have the same friends that we then had—and the duty would probably be removed, on the same principle that those duties then were. But our conduct now is so wild and distracted—our tumults and disorders are carried to so unreasonable and unwar-rantable a length—nay, such a spirit of rebellion has broke forth among us, and such a determined enmity against the *supremacy* of *Great-Britain* now predominates in the Colonies, that we have

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have hardly a single friend remaining in *England*. Even the Ma-
nufacturers join with all other orders of people, in condemning
our extravagance; and, which is still more, the Writers and
Speakers against the King's ministry allow that it is inexcusable.

It appears, therefore, that nothing will be likely to procure
a repeal of the *Tea-act*, or the removal of any other grievance of
the like kind, but, the restoration of peace and order amongst
ourselves—a candid acknowledgment of our political errors and
offences—a formal allowance of the rightful supremacy in gene-
ral, of *Great-Britain*, over the American Colonies—a declara-
tion of our aversion to a state of independency with a *correspond-*
ing behaviour—a respectful remonstrance on the subject of taxa-
tion—an assurance of our willingness to contribute, in some
equitable proportion, towards defraying the public expences—
and the proposal of a reasonable plan for a general American
constitution. This, it is humbly conceived, was to have been
the business of the *Congress*; and if they had acted upon these
principles, and with such views, not only the present, but all
future generations, would call them *blessed*.

Notwithstanding all unfavorable symptoms and appearances,
I would not presume to form a final judgment of the *Congress*,
till their whole plan of proceedings shall be known. It is pos-
sible, that all that has been wrong may be rectified in the end;
and that moderate and wise measures, tending to restore the tran-
quillity, the happiness, the honour and safety of the Colonies,
may at last be concerted. Should this appear, in the general re-
sult of their councils, the members will be entitled to the grate-
ful respect of every American, and the mistakes made in the
former part of their proceedings ought never to be mentioned
to their disadvantage. But, on the other hand, should it appear,
that they mean to encourage acts of hostility against *Great-*
Britain, or to support the madmen of *New-England* in their
scheme of an *Independent Republic*: in that case, I affirm, that
the *Original Contract* between them and the most respectable part
of their constituents will be *dissolved*—that we shall be at full li-
berty to consult our own safety, in the manner we shall think
most conducive to that end—and that we shall owe them no
greater respect and obedience, than they themselves pay to the
British Parliament.

The foregoing considerations are addressed—not to those ob-
stinate, hot-headed Zealots, who are at the bottom of all our
confusions; for arguments would be as much wasted upon them,
as upon men that are intoxicated with liquor—but to all rea-
sonable Americans, to those who are still in the exercise of their
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understandings, and whose minds are open to conviction. People of this character, it is presumed, will see the necessity of giving up the present system of American politics, as essentially wrong and destructive; and of entering unanimously upon moderate and conciliating measures, as they regard the restoration of peace and tranquility in this, heretofore, happy country.

The great object in view, should be a general *American Constitution*, on a free and generous Plan, worthy of *Great-Britain* to give, and of the colonies to receive. This is now become necessary to the mutual interest and honour, both of the Parent Kingdom and its American offspring. Such an establishment is only to be obtained by decent, candid and respectful application; and not by compulsion or threatening. To think of succeeding by force of arms, or by starving the nation into a compliance, is a proof of shameful ignorance, pride and stupidity. All such projects must operate ten times more forcibly against ourselves, than against *Great-Britain*. They are, at best, but *Penny wise*, and *Pound foolish*; and therefore inconsistent with every maxim of sound wisdom and genuine Patriotism.

All violent opposition to lawful authority partakes of the nature of rebellion; and a rebellion of the Colonies, whether it should prove successful or unsuccessful, would necessarily terminate in ruin and destruction. We are now in the utmost danger of being hurried, before we are sensible of it, into this desperate and dreadful state, when most of us think that we have grievances to complain of, in consequence of the exercise of unconstitutional power; and when many are practicing every wicked art to seduce us from our allegiance. It therefore highly concerns us to be upon our guard, at such a critical season as this. A small degree of reflection would convince us, that the grievances in question, supposing them to be real, are, at most, no more than a just ground for a decent remonstrance, but not a sufficient reason for forcible resistance. These two things are widely and essentially different; and if we mistake one for the other, the consequence may be fatal.

It has been fully shewn, that a rebellion of the colonies can have no reasonable prospect of succeeding; and that it must prove the destruction of all that are concerned in it. But supposing that it were likely to succeed, it is of the utmost importance to consider, what we should gain by it; which would be, after the desolation of our country, and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, an exemption from the authority of the British Parliament, and subjection to the authority of an American republic. A blessed exchange this! especially if we take into

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the account the character of our future masters. The principal conductors of the rebellion, would naturally have the principal authority in the republic; and these are men, whose tyrannical usurpation would be more oppressive, than the scorpion power of the most despotic Prince in Europe. There would be no peace in the colonies, till we all submitted to the republican zealots and bigots, of New-England; whose tender mercies, when they had power in their hands, have been ever cruel, towards all that presumed to differ from them in matters either of religion or government.

As soon therefore, as people of this stamp come to be in possession of an established authority, which would be the case should the rebellion succeed, the dire effects of their persecuting, and intolerant spirit will be dismally felt by all that shall have courage to dissent; particularly, the members of the Church of England, the Friends or people called Quakers, the Baptists, those that belong to the German and Dutch Churches, and the moderate and candid part of the Presbyterians themselves. All these classes of people then, by promoting the present scheme for an independent government, are absurdly acting against their own interest and honour, and contributing to prepare yokes for their own necks.

O my infatuated Countrymen! My deluded Fellow-Subject, and Fellow-Christians! Open your eyes, I entreat you; awake from your dreams, and regard your own safety!

As to you, who are members of the *Church of England*; it is amazing, that any of you should be so blind to your own interests, and such apostates from common sense, as to countenance and co-operate with a plan of proceedings, which, if it succeeds, will at once distress and disgrace you. You are endeavouring to provide arms for your enemies, and to put power into the hands of those who will use it against you. You are setting up a sort of people for your masters, whose principles you despise, and who were always fond of subduing by the iron rod of oppression, all those, whose principles or sentiments were different from their own. Their inveterate enmity to the Church of England, has polluted the annals of the British history. Their intolerance in *England*, towards the members of the Church, when the sovereign power was usurped by them, is recorded in characters of blood: and the same spirit was dreadfully triumphant in *New-England*, from the first settlement of the country, till the mild disposition of Parliamentary power interposed to restrain it. In 1629, they banished and transported even some of the original patentees of *New-England*, who were men

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of abilities and of a respectable character, merely because they discovered them to be Churchmen, declaring to them as they sent them off, that *NEW-ENGLAND WAS NO PLACE FOR SUCH AS THEY* ||. Their descendants, who inherit their principles, are the very persons that will govern you, if the projected revolution should take place. As they have now broke loose from the authority of Parliament, which for some time past restrained them from mischief, they begin to appear in their natural colours. They have already resumed the old work of persecuting the Church of England, by every method in their power. The members of it are daily misrepresented, insulted and abused by them; and they have lately driven several of its clergy from their parishes and families, which are left in a state that is truly deplorable.

The pretence indeed is, that the members of the Church in *New-England* are thus roughly treated, on account of their *political*, and not of their *religious* principles. But, Good God! is there to be no liberty of the press, no liberty of speaking, no liberty even of thinking, on political subjects, where those republicans have the ascendant? This is despotism with a vengeance; and such as we must be all fools if we voluntarily submit to. Nor will the case be at all better, with regard to religion. For it is a truth, which the history of all ages confirms, that those who will distress men on account of their *political* principles, will not scruple to persecute them for the sake of their *religious* principles, when they have it in their power.

You then, who are members of the Church of England, must renounce your principles relating both to religion and government, or you can expect no quarter under the administration of such intemperate zealots. You must cease to be Churchmen, or become victims of their intolerance. Indeed it must be confessed, and I am sorry to say, that many of you appear already to have renounced one half of your principles; or you could not proceed, as you do, in direct opposition to the established rules and doctrines of the Church. The principles of submission and obedience to lawful authority, are as inseparable from a *sound, genuine member* of the Church of England, as any religious principles whatever. This Church has always been famed and respected for its *loyalty*, and its regard to order and government. Its annals have been never stained with the history of plots and conspiracies, treasons and rebellions. Its members are

|| This appears from a valuable book written by a co-temporary author Mr. MORTON, and entitled, *New-England's Memorial*.

are instructed in their duty to government, by Three *Homilies* on *Obedience*, and six against *Rebellion*, which are so many standing lessons to secure their fidelity. They are also taught to pray in the Litany, that the almighty would preserve them "from all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion." And more than one solemn office is provided, for the annual commemoration of former deliverances from the power of those, whether Papists or Protestants, "who turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction." But if you regard none of these things, you are untoward, undutiful, and degenerate sons of the Church; and she will be ashamed to own you for her children.

However, even those of you who are but half-principled in the doctrines of the Church, will be looked upon with an evil eye, under the intended republic; and they must give up the other moiety of their principles, before they can be secure against harm or molestation. The Church of England has always been the great obstacle in the way of those republican fanatics; and when once they are established, no appearance of a Churchman will escape their resentment, or be tolerated among them.

Nor will it fare better with the *Friends*, or people called *Quakers*; however peaceable in their disposition, or however useful members of society. What they formerly suffered in *New-England* under the same sort of men that must and will govern this country, if it should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the British parliament, is too well known, and can never be forgotten. You, my respected friends, have experienced the genuine spirit and temper of their authority; and you can never wish to have your necks again incumbered with that *Presbyterian* yoke of bondage, which neither you nor your fathers were able to bear. On the other hand, you have the sense to see, and the gratitude to confess, that you have been happy under the relief and protection afforded you by the King and Parliament, in common with other good subjects. You will therefore remember (to use your own expressive language) "that, as under divine Providence, you are indebted to the King and his royal ancestors, for the continued favour of enjoying your religious liberties, you are under deep obligations (on this occasion) to manifest your loyalty and fidelity; and to discourage every attempt which may be made by any, to excite dissension, or disrespect to him."

The *Baptists* have never had fair quarter allowed them by the demagogues of *New-England*; and they are perpetually complaining, from year to year, of the acts of oppression and violence with which they are harrassed by them. Now if the people

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people of *New-England* have been thus intolerant, towards those that differed from them only with regard to the case of baptism, while they possessed an authority that was subordinate to the British Parliament; what cruelty, towards all that dissent from them, may be expected, should they be armed with absolute and incontrolable power?

As to the *Germans* and *Dutch*, to whose industry and good behaviour the Colonies are greatly indebted; if they should become subject to the jurisdiction abovementioned, they will be considered as persons, not only of a different religion, but of different nations and languages, from whom they have such an aversion, that they have never admitted them to settle in *New-England*; and consequently all the Colonists who are of a *foreign* growth or extraction, must expect to meet with a double portion of rancour and severity from their new masters.

Nor can the moderate part of the *Presbyterians*, and *Congregationalists* themselves, have any prospect of continuing free from molestation under their government. Nothing can be more odious to bigots, than generosity and candour; or more intolerable in the opinion of the furious, than moderation and meekness. This assertion might be supported by the history of all ages and nations; but we need not go far for a confirmation of it. For among the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* in the Colonies, when the meek and the moderate, the candid and generous have been brought before the tribunals of the bigotted and furious, as has frequently happened: they have been treated with as much unrelenting rancour and roughness, as if they had been *Mahometans* and *Heathens*. So that there is no chance or probability, if the latter should come to the possession of despotic power, which is the aim of the revolution they propose; that their dispensations towards the former, would be less cruel than they commonly have been.

In a word: no order or denomination of men amongst us would enjoy liberty or safety, if subjected to the fiery genius of a *New-England* Republican Government; the little finger of which we should soon experience to be heavier than the loins of Parliament. This has sometimes chastised us with *whips*, when we deserved punishment; but *that* would torment us with *scorpions*, whether we deserved it or not.

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